

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY MANILA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7294

S E C R E T MANILA 10081

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FOR HABIB ONLY FROM SULLIVAN

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MARR, RP

SUBJECT: PHILIPPINE BASE NEGOTIATIONS

REF: STATE 171457

1. THANKS FOR YOUR GUIDANCE REFTEL. THANKS ALSO FOR ACTION WHICH HAS BROUGHT US RESPONSES TO SEVERAL OPERATIONAL MESSAGES. ONE OR TWO OF THEM ARE WOEFULLY INADEQUATE, BUT AT LEAST THEY PERMIT RESUMPTION OF DIALOGUE.

2. A SHORT VISIT BY THE SECRETARY SECOND WEEK OF AUGUST WOULD BE MOST DESIRABLE, AND FROM THIS PERSPECTIVE, IMPERATIVE. THE PROSPECT OF SUCH A VISIT, PLUS THE OFFER OF A HEALTHY QUID, ARE THE TWO ANVILS AGAINST WHICH WE WOULD HOPE TO BEAT THE FILIPINOS INTO REASONABLE POSITIONS. IN NO RPT NO SENSE, COULD THEY BE USED TO "FORCE PACE OF NEGOTIATIONS ON THEIR TERMS."

3. AS YOU KNOW, FILIPINOS CURRENTLY ASSUME THAT SECRETARY WILL COME "IN EARLY AUGUST," AND YOU WILL RECALL CASUAL MENTION OF DATES AUGUST 6 OR 7 WHEN WE WERE IN WASHINGTON. HOWEVER, A ONE WEEK SLIPPAGE WOULD, I AM SURE, BE EASILY ACCOMMODATED BY PEOPLE TO WHOM TIME IS A VERY FLEXIBLE

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MATTER OF MEASUREMENT.

4. I APPRECIATE THAT SECRETARY WILL HAVE NEITHER TIME NOR INCLINATION TO ENTER INTO "DETAILED NEGOTIATIONS." THEREFORE, I WOULD HOPE TO HAVE THINGS GENERALLY SETTLED PRIOR TO HIS ARRIVAL. HOWEVER, IF THINGS REMAIN AT SIXES AND SEVENS, IT WOULD STILL BE MOST IMPORTANT THAT HE COME AND MAKE CLEAR THAT SOME PHILIPPINE DEMANDS ARE UNACCEPTABLE. AT PRESENT MOMENT, FILIPINOS THINK I AM PRINCIPLE OBSTACLE TO THEIR AMBITIONS, WHICH AN ENLIGHTENED SECRETARY OF STATE WOULD READILY CONCEDE. THEREFORE, THE SECRETARY'S VISIT WOULD ALSO BE EXTREMELY VALUABLE IN THE ABSENCE OF SUBSTANTIAL AGREEMENT, AND ESPECIALLY IN THE ABSENCE OF SUCH AGREEMENT.

5. MOREOVER, IF WE ARE GENERALLY UNAGREED AND REQUIRE SOME GRACEFUL WAY TO RECESS AND REGROUP, IT CAN BEST BE DONE IN CONJUNCTION WITH A VISIT FROM THE SECRETARY. OUR MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEM IN THAT EVENT WILL BE TO AVOID A RUPTURE IN SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES THAT THE BASES BECOME THE OBJECTS OF HARRASSMENT, STRIKES, AND PUBLICLY STIPULATED DEMANDS ON WHICH GOP WILL FEEL IT HAS TO STICK. THUS FAR, WE HAVE BEEN SURPRISINGLY FREE FROM A TROUBLESOME PRESS CAMPAIGN, BUT IT COULD BE VERY EASILY INSTIGATED.

6. I HAVE JUST BEEN INFORMED THAT PHILS HAVE SIGNED AN AGREEMENT WITH VIETNAMESE TO OPEN DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS, AND THAT THIS WILL BE ANNOUNCED THIS EVENING. IF THE TERMS ARE COUCED IN GENERAL LANGUAGE, FOR EXAMPLE, AGREEMENT "NOT TO PERMIT THEIR TERRITORY TO BE USED FOR DIRECT OR INDIRECT AGGRESSION" AGAINST THE OTHER PARTY, SOME PHILIPPINE CONDITIONS MAY RELAX. IF, ON THE OTHER HAND, THEY HAVE ACCEPTED SOME VIETNAMESE HOOKERS, OUR TASK MAY BE COMPLICATED.

7. IN ANY EVENT, WE WILL PROBABLY HAVE TO ACCEPT SOME LANGUAGE, PREFERABLY IN THE PREAMBLE, WHICH WOULD BE SIMILAR TO THAT CONTAINED IN THE FORD-MARCOS COMMUNIQUE STRESSING THE DEFENSIVE NATURE OF OUR AGREEMENT. WE WILL ALSO PROBABLY HAVE TO HAVE SOME LANGUAGE WHICH PERMITS GOP TO INDICATE THAT IT HAS A SAY IN THE USE OF THESE
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BASES FOR COMBAT PURPOSES. USDEL HAS ASKED WASHINGTON TO CONSIDER "MUTUAL AGREEMENT," BUT WE HAVE BEEN ADVISED THAT "WE ARE NOT PREPARED TO MOVE" TO THAT POSITION. NO REASON GIVEN.

8. I CITE THIS SITUATION TO DEMONSTRATE THAT OUR TALKS ARE NOT ENTIRELY ACADEMIC IN THEIR CONTEXT, BUT MUST BE VIEWED AGAINST ACTUAL EVENTS IN THIS REGION. I CONTINUE

TO HAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT SOME OF OUR COLLEAGUES
IN THE BUREAUCRACY FAIL TO RASP THE REALITIES AT ISSUE
HERE IF WE WISH TO CONTINUE SATISFACTORY OPERATIONAL USE
OF THESE BASES.

SULLIVAN

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